# West German Reactions to President Eisenhower's Middle-East Doctrine

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# I N T R O D U C T I O N

As a means of obtaining public reaction to and assessment of Preside Eisenhower's speech before the Congress proposing a new doctrine for the Middle East, which could be compared with press and official reactions within West Germany, a flash survey was carried out between January 12 and 17.

For this purpose a representative cross-section sample (of a random probability design) of the West German population 18 years of age and above was utilized. The sample contained a total of 679 cases.

Interviews were conducted by DIVO - Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey research organizatio working under contract with the Research Staff.

# SUMMARY

The reactions of that two-fifths of the West German population with knowledge of President Eisenhower's Middle East Plan were overwhelmingly favorable. Almost nine out of ten of these people approved of the Plan, with a majority holding the belief that it will reduce the danger of a world war and reduce the tensions current in the Middle East.

The two aspects of the Plan known by most people are the offer of protection against Communist aggression and the offer of economic aid. The one point which is not only least known but also most disliked is the possibility that the U.S. might, in an emergency employ military intervention in the Middle East without the consent of the U.N. In fact the Plan is viewed as making a substantial contribution to the position and prestige of the United Nations.

Two out of three people who were aware of the Plan feel that President Eisenhower acted in the interest of preserving world peace, as opposed to the fewer than one out of three who felt that he acted in his own interests in order to expand America's sphere of influence in the Middle East.

## Part I. - Knowledge

FOUR OUT OF TEN HAVE HEARD OF MID-EAST DOCTRINE.....

The survey, which took place within two weeks after President Eisenhower's proposed his Middle East Doctrine, showed that four out of ten West Germans claimed to have heard of it (40%).

"Have you heard of President Eisenhower's speech about the Middle East situation which he gave a few days ago before the American Congress?"

| | (679) |
|---|---|
| Yes, heard of it | 40% |
| No, not heard of it | 60 |
| | 100% |

ONLY 10% OF THOSE WHO HAVE HEARD OF SPEECH DO NOT "KNOW" WHAT WAS IN IT....

A card containing six statements was handed to each of the respondents, who said that he had heard of the Eisenhower Doctrine, with the request that he indicate which of these points were contained in the speech. Respondents were free to select as many of the statements as they wished. As a check on the possible suggestiveness of such a listing, one statement was included which was actually not in the speech i.e. the element of help against internal Communist-inspired subversion (statement D on the card).

A - The U.S. is prepared to protect the Middle East nations against Communist aggression

B - American protective measures are to be taken only at the request of the nation attacked

C - American intervention for the protection of these nations will not be continued against the wishes of the U.S.

D - The U.S. also wishes to help individual Middle East nations against internal Communist-inspired subversion

E - The U.S. is ready to promote the democratic development of individual Middle East nations by rendering economic aid.

F - In case of an unforeseen emergency, the U.S. can employ military intervention in the Middle East without the consent of the U.N.

The presentation of a list of possible points of the Eisenhower speech was necessary in order to run some check as to how many of those who claimed to have heard of the speech did not actually know what was in the speech. In all such "tests of knowledge" it is more valid to calculate the minimum number who do not know, than it is to safely conclude that the remainder do know. The following analysis is, therefore, particularly interesting because of the absence of "conflicting" findings (i.e. the absence of proof that some of those who claimed to have heard of the speech had wrong ideas as to what was in it).

While, among those who said that they had heard of the speech, 40% said that it contained Statement D (the U.S. would help against internal subversion), there was not a single individual who selected only that statement. Everyone of those who chose point D included it along with one or more of those on the list. Thus, we may conclude that apparently all of those who selected items as contained in the speech, did know pretty much what was in it.

That still leaves us with the realization that since one out of ten (9%), among those who said that they had heard of the speech, failed to select any of the statements by resorting to an answer of "no opinion", we can assume that they did not really know much, if anything, about it.

"Have you heard of President Eisenhower's speech about the Middle East situation which he gave a few days ago before the American Congress?"

IF "Yes, heard of it":
"Which of the following points were contained in this speech?"

| | (270) |
|---|---|
| Cited Statements A,B,C,E or F | 51% |
| Cited Statements A,B,C,E or F and D | 40 |
| Only cited D | 0 |
| Cited no Statements | 9 |
| | 100% |

Another aspect that should be noted is that on the average those who had heard of the Eisenhower speech selected over three statements as contained in it. Among those who selected only "correct" statements, almost six out of ten chose three or more of the items (58%), while among those who also selected the one point which was not contained in the speech eight out of ten made that many more correct choices (83%).

Number of Statements Selected As Containing President Eisenhower's Speech

| | By People Selecting A,B,C,E or F | By People Selecting A,B,C,D,E or F and D |
|---|---|---|
| One | 6% | -% |
| Two | 21 | 3 |
| Three | 32 | 14 |
| Four | 21 | 19 |
| Five | 5 | 24 |
| Six | - | 40 |
| No opinion | 15 | - |
| | 100% | 100% |
| | (161) | (109) |

ELEMENTS OF "PROTECTION AGAINST COMMUNIST AGGRESSION" AND "ECONOMIC AID" MOST KNOWN BY INFORMED PEOPLE....

Approximately three-quarters of the "informed" people selected each of the statements:

> "The U.S. is prepared to protect the Middle East nations against Communist aggression" (76%)
>
> "The U.S. is ready to promote the democratic development of individual Middle East nations by rendering economic aid". (73%)

The "wrong" statement was chosen least often, but still included by four out of ten who claimed to have heard about the speech. Selected equally often (41%) was the point that the U.S. might militarily intervene in an emergency without the consent of the U.N. The relative lack of understanding on this point should be noted particularly in view of a latter question concerning the contribution of this plan to the position and prestige of the U.N

(see page 11 )

"Have you heard of President Eisenhower's speech about the Middle East situation which he gave a few days ago before the American Congress?"

IF "Yes, heard of it":
"Which of the following points were contained in this speech? (CARD A)

| | Contained in Speech |
|---|---|
| A - The U.S. is prepared to protect the Middle East nations against Communist aggression | 76% |
| B - American protective measures are to be taken only at the request of the nation attacked | 63 |
| C - American intervention for the protection of these nations will not be continued against the wishes of the U.N. | 54 |
| D - The U.S. also wishes to help individual Middle East nations against internal Communist-inspired subversion | 40 |
| E - The U.S. is ready to promote the democratic development of individual Middle East nations by rendering economic aid | 73 |
| F - In case of an unforeseen emergency, the U.S can employ military intervention in the Middle East without the consent of the U.N. | 41 |
| No opinion | 9 |
| | 356%@ |

Some respondents gave more than one answer.

## Part II. - Reactions to the Speech

### Section 1 - Reactions to Details

Those individuals who said that they had heard of the speech were again shown the list of six statements, and asked to indicate which one of the points they liked the most and again which one they liked the least.

OFFER OF "U.S. PROTECTION AGAINST COMMUNIST AGGRESSION" MOST LIKED POINT, LEAST LIKED IS THE IDEA THAT THE U.S. MIGHT ACT WITHOUT U.N. APPROVAL ...

Among the list of six statements the idea of a U.S. guarantee against Communist aggression in the Middle East is clearly the most popular (38% of the informed individuals selected it). The percentage from among the informed people selecting that statement is twice as large as that selecting any of the other statements. Far behind in popularity are the statements having to do with the U.S. offer of economic aid (19%), and the point that the American offer of protective measures would only be effected at the request of the nation attacked (16%).

On the negative side, the least liked element of the Mid-East Doctrine is even more decisively picked than was the case for the most liked point. By far the largest percentage indicated their dislike of the idea that the U.S. might employ military intervention without the consent of the U.N. (44%). No other statement was selected as disliked by as much as 10 per cent.

"Which of these points do you like the most?" "And which do you like the least" ) Asked only of those respondents who had heard of the speech.

| | Like the most | Like the least |
|---|---|---|
| A - The U.S. is prepared to protect the Middle East nations against Communist aggression | 38% | 6% |
| B - American protective measures are to be taken only at the request of the nation attacked | 16 | 7 |
| C - American intervention for the protection of these nations will not be continued against the wishes of the U.N. | 12 | 6 |
| D - The U.S. also wishes to help individual Middle East nations against internal Communist inspired subversion | 5 | 9 |
| E - The U.S. is ready to promote the democratic development of individual Middle East nations by rendering economic aid | 19 | 4 |
| F - In case of an unforeseen emergency, the U.S. can employ military intervention in the Middle East without the consent of the U.N. | 3 | 44 |
| No opinion | 7 | 24 |
| | 100% | 100% |

Section 2 - General Reaction

As previously shown, some four-tenths of the west German population was found to know about President Eisenhower's Middle East Doctrine speech to the Congress. The reactions of these individuals to the proposals contained in that speech are, naturally, of the most interest and validity. However, as a possible indication of what first reactions are to the elements of the Doctrine, all people who said that they did not know about the speech (60% of the total), were shown a card - omitting point "D" - and told that these were the main points of the speech. Thereafter, all individuals were asked all remaining questions designed to elicit their reactions to the speech. For the purpose of analysis, however, it was a simple matter to separately tabulate the responses of those who had originally said that they had heard of the speech and the replies of those who originally did not know about it and had to be informed before their reactions were elicited. In the main, comment will be restricted to the replies of those who were aware of the Eisenhower Doctrine, since despite the proffered information many persisted in having "no opinion" on further questions.

ALMOST NINE OUT OF TEN APPROVE OF THE EISENHOWER PLAN ...

Among those who said that they were aware of the Eisenhower plan, three-quarters (74%) gave outright approval to the Plan, while an additional 14 per cent approved, but with some reservations. Only one person in twenty said that he disapproved of the Plan (6%).

Those who had to be informed about the Eisenhower Plan were also favorably disposed - but not to the same extent. Outright approvals exceeded disapprovals by 5 to 1 (43% as against 8%) whereas among those who had heard of it before, the ratio was 12 to 1.

"By and large, do you approve of this Eisenhower plan, or do you disapprove of it?"

| | TOTAL (679) | Aware of Eisenhower Doctrine (270) | Originally not aware (409) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Approve | 55% | 74% | 43% |
| Approve with reservations | 11 | 14 | 8 |
| Disapprove | 7 | 6 | 8 |
| No opinion | 27 | 6 | 41 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% |

Section 3 - Motives for the Plan

MAJORITIES REJECT SELFISH MOTIVES AS BEHIND AMERICAN MOVE ...

As between the two presented alternatives of possible American motives for proclaiming the Doctrine, two-thirds of those originally aware (65%) and a majority of those originally unaware (53%) preferred to think that President Eisenhower mainly acted in the interest of preserving world peace. Only small percentages felt that Eisenhower acted in his own interests in order to expand American influence in the Middle East.

"Which of the following possible motives do you think President Eisenhower mainly had for proclaiming this plan?". (CARD)

| | TOTAL | Aware of Eisenhower Doctrine | Originally not aware |
|---|---|---|---|
| He mainly acted in his own interest in order to expand American influence in the Middle East | 22% | 29% | 17% |
| He mainly acted in the interest of preserving world peace | 57 | 65 | 53 |
| Both | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| No opinion | 19 | 3 | 29 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% |

FEW FEAR THAT THE PLAN INDICATES LESSENED INTEREST IN GERMANY AND EUROPE ...

Among both groups of respondents in West Germany, there is very little belief that the new Eisenhower Mid-East Doctrine indicates lessened American interest in Germany and Europe. Less than one out of ten in the one group (those originally aware) and but one out of twenty in the other thought that the speech indicated such a shift in American interests. On the contrary, more than eight out of ten (84%) among those who had heard and about six out of ten (59%) among those who had originally not heard of the Eisenhower speech answered, "No, it did not indicate diminished interest in Germany and Europe".

"Does this plan, in your opinion, indicate that the interest the U.S. takes in Germany and Europe has diminished, or doesn't it?"

| | TOTAL | Aware of Eisenhower Doctrine | Originally not aware |
|---|---|---|---|
| Yes, diminished | 6% | 9% | 5% |
| No, not diminished | 70 | 84 | 59 |
| No opinion | 24 | 7 | 36 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% |

Section 4 - Consequences of the Plan

BELIEF PLAN WILL REDUCE MID-EAST TENSIONS STRONGEST AMONG THOSE AWARE ...

A majority of those who had known about the plan (53%) felt that it would reduce tensions in the Middle East, as against roughly half as many (24%) who said that it would actually increase tensions.

"Do you believe this Eisenhower plan will reduce political tensions in the Middle East, or will it increase them?"

| | TOTAL | Aware of Eisenhower Doctrine | Originally not aware |
|---|---|---|---|
| Reduce tensions | 40% | 53% | 30% |
| Increase tension | 19 | 24 | 17 |
| Will have no essential influence (Volunteered) | 9 | 13 | 7 |
| No opinion | 32 | 10 | 46 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% |

SIMILAR BELIEF THAT THE PLAN WILL REDUCE THE DANGER OF A WORLD WAR ...

Almost idential percentages replied that the Eisenhower Mid-East Doctrine would reduce rather than add to the danger of a new world war. Among those previously aware 54 per cent said it would reduce such danger, while 17 per cent said that it would only serve to increase the danger.

"And, in your opinion, what effect will this plan have on the overall world situation: Do you believe it will serve to increase or to reduce the danger of a new world war, or will this plan have no influence on the overall world situation?"

| | TOTAL | Aware of Eisenhower Doctrine | Originally not aware |
|---|---|---|---|
| Increase danger | 16% | 17% | 15% |
| Reduce danger | 39 | 54 | 30 |
| No influence | 16 | 22 | 12 |
| No opinion | 29 | 7 | 43 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% |

EVEN AMONG THOSE VIEWING PLAN AS INCREASING MID-EAST TENSIONS, MANY FELT IT WILL REDUCE THE DANGER OF A WORLD WAR ...

When the answers to the two preceding questions were tabulated against each other, it was found that the great majority of those who felt that the Plan would reduce Mid-East tensions also felt that it would reduce the danger of a new world war (75% among those originally aware of the speech and 67% among those who had to be informed).

It is of some interest, however, that among those who answered that the Plan would increase the tension in the Middle East some two-tenths answered that (despite this possibility) the Eisenhower Doctrine would actually reduce the possibility of a new world war (23% and 19% in the two groups).

"Do you believe this Eisenhower plan will reduce political tensions in the Middle East, or will it increase them?" (Asked of those respondents originally aware of the Eisenhower Middle-East Doctrine,)

"And, in your opinion, what effect will this plan have on the overall world situation: Do you believe it will serve to increase or to reduce the danger of a new world war, or will this plan have no influence on the overall world situation?"

| | Reduce tensions (144) | Increase tensions (64) | No essential influence (36) | No opinion (26) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Increase danger | 7% | 46% | 8% | 19% |
| Reduce danger | 75 | 23 | 33 | 39 |
| No influence | 13 | 28 | 53 | 15 |
| No opinion | 5 | 3 | 6 | 27 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

"Do you believe this Eisenhower plan will reduce political tensions in the Middle East, or will it increase them?" (Asked of those respondents originally not aware.)

"And, in your opinion, what effect will this plan have on the overall world situation: Do you believe it will serve to increase or to reduce the danger of a new world war, or will this plan hav no influence on the overall world situation?"

| | Reduce tensions (124) | Increase tensions (69) | No essential influence (27) | No opinion (189) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Increase danger | 7% | 58% | 7% | 5% |
| Reduce danger | 67 | 19 | 30 | 9 |
| No influence | 10 | 9 | 56 | 9 |
| No opinion | 16 | 14 | 7 | 77 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

SEVEN OUT OF TEN FEEL PLAN WILL PUSH BACK OR CONTAIN COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST ...

On the crucial issue of what influence the Eisenhower Doctrine will have on the spread of Communism in the Middle East, almost equal percentages (34% and 35%) answered that it will "push Communist influence back" or will "prevent Communist influence from spreading". Only one person out of four (24%), although aware of the Plan was pessimistic or skeptical enough to answer that the Plan "will have no effect."

"In your opinion, will Communist influence in the Middle East be pushed back or prevented from spreading further through the proclamation of this plan by President Eisenhower, or will this plan have no effect on the advance of Communism in the Mid-East area?"

| | TOTAL | Aware of Eisenhower Doctrine | Originally not aware |
|---|---|---|---|
| Will push influence back | 23% | 34% | 16% |
| Will prevent influence from spreading | 26 | 35 | 20 |
| Will have no effect | 23 | 24 | 22 |
| No opinion | 28 | 7 | 42 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% |

THREE-QUARTERS OF THOSE AWARE OF PLAN FEEL IT STRENGTHENS POSITION OF U.N. ...

By a five to one margin, 75 per cent to 15 per cent, those who had heard of the Eisenhower Plan answered that they felt it essentially contributed toward consolidating the position and prestige of the United Nations. Even among those who had not originally known about the speech, despite the high percentage of "no opinion" on the question (47%), the five to one favorable ratio was also maintained - 45 per cent versus 8 per cent.

"Do you feel this plan essentially contributes toward consolidating the position and the prestige of the U.N., that is, the United Nations, or don't you think so?"

| | TOTAL | Aware of Eisenhower Doctrine | Originally not aware |
|---|---|---|---|
| Contributes toward consolidating position | 57% | 75% | 45% |
| Does not contribute | 10 | 15 | 8 |
| No opinion | 33 | 10 | 47 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% |

EISENHOWER PLAN VIEWED AS CONTRIBUTING TO SOLUTION OF CURRENT MID-EAST PROBLEMS ...

Although the Eisenhower speech made no specific recommendations or references to the several current Mid-East problems (such as the Suez conflict, Arab-Israeli tensions, or Arab refugee problem), sizeable percentages felt that the Plan would even help in those matters.

Of the three problems, the one were the greatest optimism was shown was the Suez Canal problem. Among those originally aware of the speech, an actual majority (61%) felt that the proposal would help to solve the Suez question. The Arab refugee problem was viewed as least affected by the Eisenhower Doctrine.

"In your opinion, will this plan contribute toward solving the following problems?" (CARD)

| | TOTAL | Aware of Eisenhower Doctrine | Originally not aware |
|---|---|---|---|
| Suez Canal problem: | | | |
| Contribute | 46% | 61% | 37% |
| Not contribute | 17 | 24 | 12 |
| No opinion | 37 | 15 | 51 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| Arab-Israeli conflict: | | | |
| Contribute | 31% | 46% | 22% |
| Not contribute | 21 | 28 | 16 |
| No opinion | 48 | 26 | 62 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| Arab refugee problem: | | | |
| Contribute | 21% | 31% | 15% |
| Not contribute | 20 | 31 | 13 |
| No opinion | 59 | 38 | 72 |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% |

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